

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF

FRANCE.



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ON THE PRESENT

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL

CONDITION

OF

F R A N C E.

Things bad begun, make strong themselves by ill.

MACBETH.

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1794.

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ON THE PRESENT

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL

CONDITION



IN 1841

By J. R. M. (John Russell Millard)

LONDON:

Printed by J. R. M. (John Russell Millard)

CONSIDERATIONS,

&c.

FRANCE exhibits, at this moment, a spectacle equally curious and alarming, but under the impressions of the alarm we seem to have almost forgot the curiosity. We have beheld a great nation burst at once the bands of an ancient despotism, and kindling by its own violent agitation, rush lawless from its sphere, endanger the whole political system of Europe, and threaten to spread its own conflagration around. The nations have hastily coalesced; all but an ungenerous few, who, under the shield raised for common defence, and under which they themselves are defended, have opened an intercourse for private gain. The danger is at its height, and all the engines of war must be drawn out to extinguish or destroy.

In the midst of this general tumult, it is not surprising, if we have neglected to behold so

terrifying a phenomenon with a philosophical eye. I will however, for a moment, contemplate France, not as it stands related to a system, but as it stands alone; a chaotic mass in rotary motion and without either centre or base.

It is in vain to look back through history, there is no precedent to be found. In the physical world there are many volcanos, but a moral volcano of so horrid a sort was never heard of till now. So strange, so frightful an eruption of the human mind.

That France should burst the despotism which constrained it, does not at all surprise me; nor am I surprised, that, having neither bone or nerve of any more ancient institution remaining in its frame, it should not have knit itself immediately into some new form, or that, so circumstanced, the French people should yet, for a time, hold together, like a swarm of bees, by a common kindred, a common language, and a common hope: yet the moment was nice, and it seemed requisite that some speedy organization should be found, however imperfect, as it might be meliorated by exigence and time, into some practical form; and in fact this was attempted. A constitution of two powers only, impracticable it is true, and contrary to all theoretic principles; but this condition, instead of being gradually meliorated,

rated, and brought into a conformity with those principles, was rashly done away. A new interval of disorganization ensued, much more dangerous than the former; and strong symptoms of anarchy began soon to appear, till, at length, *equality*, *equality*, that unequivocal signal of confusion, resounded from every side.

I wish to be brief; but I must however speak to this dangerous word: it holds forth two handles, *truth* to invite, and *falsehood* to deceive.

That men, considered as in a state of nature, are *equal*, is undoubtedly true; but that they are *so*, or should be *so* considered in a political state, is as undoubtedly false. In support of natural equality we may observe, that, as individuals we are all made of the same elements, and are not separated into casts. That men are differently endowed by nature with bodily and mental strength is true; but that is nothing, the chance of the wheel only: it affords no base to build on; these are not inheritable things. The lottery is renewed; the next generation draws, and a different distribution goes round.

But though men in a state of nature may be truly said to be *equal*, yet the parts of which each individual is composed, are not so. The head is more honourable than the foot, and requires a nicer organization, though the clay, or

paste of which they are both composed, and the dust into which they shall fall, are precisely the same. Political corporations are but transcripts of individual life; and the like principles apply; the material of which corporations are composed, is man himself;—a living paste, and it must be moulded into form; a counsellor's head to direct, a hand to execute, and a foot to labour, and in compacts with other states, there must be found a faith to give. The parts then of this corporation become unequal by position, and by superior organization. Those parts may revolve, but the form and subordination must be preserved, through whatever flux of parts, or the corporation is no more. It falls like the natural man into the elements from which it came; that is, corporations into individuals, as the individuals into clay.

In equality of property stands upon other ground, and it may be sufficient for me to say, that though money, according to the adage, “may make the mare to go” it does not, on another adage, make the *man*. If it were for me to say, how natural equality and political inequality are compromised, and how the atoms may gradually revolve, I should not, as I trust, be at a loss. But it is enough in this place to observe, that the French, by assuming equality as an universal principle, have put a negative on all incorporation, and have established anarchy in form.

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To the word *equality* they have added the word *unity*; but in what sense they use this word will be presently shewn; among the evils of anarchy, the abuse of speech deserves to be enumerated as one.

I am to speak of anarchy, and in all reason I should say precisely what it is, and where it is to be found; a line of separation between anarchy and all other states might be drawn in very few words. It is, it may be said, that condition of things, which cannot self subsist, but which has the principle of its subsistence *without* itself, which is not the case of any other condition of society; all the rest hang, to use Milton's words, "self-balanced on their centres," and are thus able to subsist in an isolated state; but as it will not take me, as I think, above a page or two, to enumerate the different conditions of human society, and as there are, at least, two distinct conditions of anarchy, it may be convenient to run over the catalogue, negating those from discussion with which I have no concern.

All the governments of the world, considered as self-subsisting and of full growth, have been classed into four sorts, and put under four different principles, which of course denominate the sorts; *the one, the few, the many, and the mixed*; the three first are considered as simple principles, and the

the fourth considered not as a mere negation of simplicity, which would throw all back again, but as a mixture of the other three in certain ascertained proportions and ways, and in fact less subject to a variety of modes, than either of the other three.

But there are also infant and growing conditions of society, the *hunting* and the *pastoral state*, and a still further progression into agriculture and mechanic arts, before a perfect government is formed; these are the furthest possible from anarchy; they are under the protection of nature, too simple for policy and too weak for ill, in hazard of being themselves oppressed, but oppressing none. The different tribes of savage hunters in North America are often in war, but never in anarchy; but that is a question by itself, and ought not to engage me now.

There is also a state of rapid revolution from one of the above principles to another, effected almost always by force; and also a regular, slow, progressive change of principle, wherein the institutions of an old principle successively failing, are dextrously supplied by those of a new, till a complete revolution is obtained, almost always attended with a concurrence and gradual conformity of the public mind. There is also a state of civil war, wherein one principle is maintained in arms against another,

ther, or wherein, principle out of the question, as being assented to on all sides, one man or family is supported against another.

All these states of society, as being in progress to obtain a principle, or being already under the dominion of one, I shall call *legitimate*, to distinguish them from that state of things, which I am next to mark under the name of *anarchy*.

Those already enumerated I consider as self-poized, and self-balanced, and as containing the principles of their union and tranquillity within themselves, and which, upon the idea of a self-moving machine, may perform their operations without any external aid, whether of impulse or controul.

But there may be also a condition of society so imperfectly constituted *within*, that it cannot subsist, or be effectually balanced, but by the pressure of some external cause *without*. The reaction, for example, of a foreign war, which it is therefore bound perpetually to provoke. Such a state then carrying in its frame a principle of hostility towards all others, I shall call anarchial; but as we cannot suppose, that the surrounding states would suffer an anarchy of this kind to grow up among them from infancy, but would rather crush it in the shell, so we must look further for our anarchy in

the dissolution of some legitimate government, strong enough to support itself in this hostile state, and deriving new strength from hostility.

But among Anarchists there may be this manifest distinction, that in one anarchy the principle of foreign war, and the re-action thence arising being added to other strong and permanent institutions *within*, such a state may be thereby perfectly balanced, and become thereupon eminent perhaps, for internal good order, subordination, and law; whereas, another having no institutions of this sort, nor any regular controuls established *within*, may become equally anarchial *within* and *without*, and exhibit a spectacle of horror hateful both to Gods and men; a perfect monster with teeth and claws of iron, and eyes of fire, and which it may be the duty of all nations by a common endeavour to destroy.

But there is still beyond this, another state, which it is more especially the purpose of these sheets to explain; an anarchy regularly organized into, and containing all the principles of government, but all reversed and standing on the wrong end;-- for good, evil; for virtue, vice; and for stability, change; but of this presently.

It will be in vain to look into history for an example of the present condition of France; it is
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against all chance that there should be such a condition ; it never existed before, and never will again ; yet there have been *anarchies*, and I will state one the most formidable that the world ever knew, agreeing with France in *this*, that it carried the principle of general hostility in its frame, but no more alike in other respects than *Macedon to Monmouth*, "*there was a river, indeed, in both,*" and that was all. Yet it may, however, be convenient to state the case, if it were only to elucidate and confirm the principles already laid down.

The reader will easily apprehend that I look to *Rome*. In her early state sober, decorous, pious, temperate, frugal and just, full of good laws and good manners ; age and station revered, and a strict subordination instituted and religiously observed ; with a thousand other virtues, as we find them blazoned in the schools ; yet did this sober and religious Dame carry, notwithstanding, a *great bit of the devil* in her frame, derived from the very cause in question, the want of an internal balance ; in consequence of which, she became the plague and destroyer of more than half mankind. *Rome* had been, as we all know, a mixed legitimate government, out of which the monarchical principle was suddenly taken without any other change of condition ; for it happened that at that time her manners were singularly pure

and capable, for a time at least, of sustaining themselves; and it also happened, that the two remaining orders of the state were exactly, and beyond all example, and defined, that the strictest subordination had taken place; both these orders therefore stood fast, and, after a time, digested between them, as well as they could, the power which had been thus taken away.

But it was impossible, in the nature of things, that a state composed of two powers only, without a balance, could long endure; those powers had opposite interests and views, and were naturally the political enemies of each other. Their enmities, of course, became extreme; but just on the edge of battle they found means to compromise their internal differences, by provoking and waging a *foreign* war, under the danger of which they were compressed by the common enemy into internal union, or, at least, a suspension of internal violence.

But the cause remaining as before, the dissensions were, of course, renewed; but the same remedy which could appease their competitions at one period, could do it at another, till at length, by a constant resort to this remedy, they obtained a state of permanent *subsistence*; and *external war* substituted for *regal power*, became, *internally*, the ordinary and effectual balance

lance of the state ; whereupon military institutions were formed, and woven into the substance of their frame ; and aggrandizement and war became the ruling principles of the whole. *Choice* now joined herself to necessity, and making, at first, equal paces, soon afterwards outstripped her in the march.

But in the mean time, *Rome* was become a perfect *Anarch* externally, and with this spark of the *devil* in her frame, was desolating the world, going on conquering and to conquer, till, at length, wanting external enemies near enough to serve as a balance, she fell back upon herself, and perished in her own fires. But yet, throughout the whole course of her existence, scarcely was this nation, for a moment, internally anarchial, so wonderfully strong were her original institutions ! They held, even, from the resignation of *Sylla* to the death of *Anthony* exposed to all the ravages of civil war (though, during this period, some equivocal symptoms of internal anarchy might possibly have appeared) and they lent, even beyond the date of the republic, their names and forms, and even in some degree their utilities, to imperial *Rome*.

Of this great but anarchial nation, it is natural to observe, that had the surrounding nations, coalesced against her, soon after the expulsion of *Tarquin*, she must either have legitimated herself, or

have been destroyed as a common enemy ; but it is possible that this dangerous principle did not at first, amid so much sobriety of manners, evidently appear, whereas had she been *all devil*, both *within* and *without*, as France now is, the alarm must, as one should think, have been taken, and this queen of nations have been smothered as a *monster* at her very birth, and her Scipios and her Cæsars never have arisen to plague mankind.

We are next, to speak of a new condition of things, such as one may venture to say, taking it all together, never existed before, and never will exist again ; an evil surprizing in its nature, and terrifying by its magnitude. We are not to speak of a small state like that of Rome, at the expulsion of Tarquin becoming externally anarchical by the loss of *one* institution ; but of a great nation computed of twenty-five millions, possessing a large and fertile portion of the globe, rich in product and manufacture, full of policy and science and arts, commercial, military, active enterprizing, equally powerful on both elements, and holding, beyond all other nations, the means and instruments of war ; we are to see this great nation in the midst of a wide system of many governments, heretofore poizing each other, break violently, and at once, from under its ancient principle, disorganizing all Europe, and desert-
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ing not only *one* internal principle, but tearing and rending every other institution to tatters, whether religious, moral, feudal, or whatever else may be supposed to have held them together as one government and one people; and, in this state of national insanity, hugging, scratching, killing, and poignarding each other; confounding times and seasons, and years and days, turning language itself into jargon, and uttering noise and gibberish and nonsense without end.

In this infuriate state it was not possible for them long to continue without wholly destroying each other; for every individual was at once both a tyrant and a slave, and in every bosom fear and rage had mingled their spurs together; nothing then remained, but to carry this furious spirit to the frontiers, and to tear and rend and fraternize the surrounding world; *equal* at home, a *sovereign mob*, sitting fans-culotted, upon a rude heap of broken crowns, sceptres, mitres, croziers, and every other ensign of decorum, order, and peace; they hoped, however, to find subjects abroad, and to turn into hewers of wood, and drawers of water their *younger* brothers, whilst the rich inheritance of the world should be all their own. In this state of external war, their fury seems to have been, if possible, increased by resistance; and like wild beasts, they have bit the spear which nailed them to the ground. If this was only represented in a puppet-show one might smile,

smile; but the danger is great and imminent; their former attainments in arts, and in war have given edge to their rage, as their rage has given new impulse to their skill; and nothing but a strong calescence, and a common and active endeavour, can prevent them from spreading, one knows not what desolation around.

But there are, doubtless, who will call what is here written, mere declamation; there is, it may be said, a representative assembly in France, and an administration arising out of it, conducting public affairs with more energy and ability than perhaps is to be found in any legitimate state. That there is also an administration commanding harder things and better obeyed, than in any other state; and that during this supposed confusion, the finances of the country have been so well managed, that money, adequate to all its exigencies, has seemed to be drawn from some exhaustless source; events these, which imply wisdom, policy, energy, order, and subordination.

In order to meet these objections, it will be proper to draw nearer the question, than I have yet done, and to enter the internal of France; the more unpleasant as it is become a land of jargon, wherein words have lost their former application and use. In regular states, human actions have their attributes, as substances have their qualities,

qualities, and, almost, as well ascertained; we call some actions, invariably, beautiful or becoming, or just; and to others we give characters of a different kind; we call murder *foul*, perjury *impious* or *profane*; treachery *base*, and malice *black*, but not so in France; there we hear of the beauty of assassination, the philosophy of Atheism, the charms of poverty, and the virtue of *Robespierre*—Their *forced loan* has (say they) been very productive, *granted*; but what perverse spirit can induce them to call *force* a *loan*, when the word robbery is so commodiously at hand? the like of other things, why is a moderate to be distinguished as *violent*, and why a *sans culotte* to be called *enlightened*? Has he, I wonder, like the Priests of Delphos, been illuminated at the wrong end? as well might these gentlemen speak of the dimensions of taste, and the colour of sound.

But whence arises this Babel of tongues? have these free-masons imported any new speech? no, the words are nearly the same, they are only misapplied, or rather only new applied, and suited to a state wherein every principle has been reversed; their *stability* is in *change*, their *virtue* in *vice*, their *freedom* in *necessity*, and their *courage* in *despair*; the fact is, that they live in *extremes*, and amid all the evils which inhabit there. Their fury is in the extreme; it is the fury of *all* ex-

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citing *all*, but their terrors are also equally in the extreme. It is the terror in every individual, of *each*, and *all* the rest; at either end of the beam a man may possibly exist for a time, but to touch the middle is death; *there*, in the old *mean*, dwell wisdom and virtue, *moderatists* and *incivics* by birth, and if they had but a 'visible or *tangible* existence, they would doubtless be seized, without mercy by the revolutionary force, and passed in mutual embrace, under the guillotine.

It is strange to say, and yet I believe it may be truly said, that the want of all institution in France, is become itself, an institution of a peculiar sort, forming not a mere negation of order, but positive disorder organized. If these words do not seem to accord, I cannot help it; I speak of disagreeing and incongruous things; if we do not readily understand the present condition of France, it is not to be wondered at; we reason upon old principles, but we should consider every thing there by the rule of reverse; we have always thought, and our fathers have told us, that governments should be founded on some solid principles, strengthened and supported by institutions of various sorts, such, as amid storms and tumults might possibly stand fast, but no such thing, the new college of political philosophers in France have altered all *that*, and they have accordingly erected a mighty empire on revolutions,

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one inclosed within another, like the coats of an onion, and standing in the same manner upon nothing at all: a government whose impulse is placed in all the worst passions controuled by the most abject fear, which fear it behoves them to dissemble from each other, under the appearance of desperation and the cry of liberty or death. In the mean time what tyranny can be greater than the tyranny of all over all? where every man to be himself a tyrant must become the slave of all the rest. In this tyranny, he who can do most mischief possesses the largest share; and in this mischief, he not only finds gratification but safety too: he is the accuser, not the accused; the terror of others and not their prey; and thousands, to obtain this envied situation, dissemble what virtues they have, belie the humanity and integrity of their own hearts, and prudently commit the most horrid deeds of rapine and of blood, that they may approve themselves worthy citizens and obtain a good name. But to relapse is fatal. To be a good father or a good friend—what can be worse? Such a man means, perhaps, to bring the revolutionary severities into reproach, or he will be charged with some other incivism and be made to *bite the dust*, or in more familiar phrase, to look out of the little *window*, (as they sometimes pleasantly call the guillotine.) But to speak of the *administration* in France, called *the Committee of Public Safety*. A mental energy exactly corresponding with her frame.

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To apprehend the true nature of this singular administration we must look to the cause out of which it grows : I have not spoken of the people of France as being in a state of nature, that is, as unconnected individuals, but as men who had been very lately organized, and had, in mercantile phrase, carried on a great trade upon a joint stock under a common firm, in which course they had obtained a very large capital, consisting of lands, houses, commodities, ships, money, &c. but who now have thought fit to break up their incorporation and return to a state of equality, agreeing with a state of nature in every thing but *this*, that they still retain a joint interest, in a common stock, which interest, being for the most part indivisible and local, it was necessary to manage and preserve it by the action of all, and the superintendency of a few.

Where there is a permanent cause it will be found in some mode or other to produce a corresponding effect, and thus one might be assured, that a superintendence would arise and be acquiesced in, though one might not be able exactly to say how : it is the point to which such a condition of things presses with a constant endeavour to obtain : we know, however, how this particular administration arose. It had a legitimate birth ; it arose out of a convention competent at the time to this end ; but it survived the efficiency of that convention, and now subsists wholly on the necessity of the case, corresponding

ponding exactly with the total condition of things, for such a correspondence will always arise. A lion's frame will be accompanied with a lion's mind, as a natural result: this administration, therefore, may be considered as competent to all evil, but incompetent to good; it manages and preserves the common stock with great vigour, because in so doing it has the concurrence of all, and it collects all the new principles of evil into full efficiency and force; mingling fury and fear, and conducting the action and re-action of *all upon all* with that sort of ability and tendency of mind by which this situation was first obtained.

But still it remains unaccounted for; why, in the midst of revolutions, the same individual men should retain the same fixed station, appearing from day to day to strike a firmer root; and what seems yet more wonderful, that having but limited ends, and no military command or power, how they should be able to extend their authority through all the wide regions of France, and obtain a prompt and perfect obedience from citizens and armies in things the most arduous and revolting to our common nature, and beyond the line of their superintendence; and in particular how they can collect all the bullion of the country into their own hands, make paper circulate for coin, and even compel the whole nation to rise in mass, and offer their first lines, at least, to the most assured destruction. When I have explained this, as I hope I

shall satisfactorily, I shall then have the whole field before me, and shall be able at my ease to discuss and contemplate the rest. I doubt not but that many of my readers go before me ; I affect not novelty : but those at least who *wonder*, may not be displeased if we release them from so unpleasant a state.

I have spoken of internal anarchy as capable of organization, and under which organization it may long *endure* : but I have spoken of it as a *monster* not produced in the natural order of things, but subsisting on principles wholly reversed. *Milton* has given us a sort of physical anarchy in his infernal world, where he says, *All life dies and death lives, where nature breeds perverse, all monstrous, all prodigious, things, abominable, unutterable, and worse than fables, yet have feigned or fear conceived, Gorgons, and Hydra's, and Chimera's dire*—not without reference, I suppose, to a moral anarchy ; for between physics and morals there is so close an analogy, that they seem reciprocally to reflect each other, insomuch that the same words will for the most part apply to both, and this anarchy *Milton* supposes to have principles of its own and to endure. We are, therefore, to see how this *monster* was produced in France, how it is organized, and upon what principles it may *endure*.

We all know that the first efforts of France, after the sudden dissolution of its former government,

ment, was towards a legitimate state; first, indeed, towards an impracticable thing of *two orders*, which it wanted institutions and manners even for a period to sustain, and which it could not ultimately have sustained without the balance of an external war. Next it fell upon a *democracy by representation*, wholly unsuitable to its general condition of manners, habits, situation, and size; but yet in theory, legitimate and fair; but during this perilous period of scientific legislation, *anarchy* organized itself unseen: a chain of political clubs, like an eruptive disease, embraced the whole country, and became in effect the jointed bones and vertebræ of the new-born monster. I speak in figure for the sake both of brevity and force, but the reader will look through the figure to the thing itself:—the *head* he will allow me to say, of this articulated monster was in Paris, under the name of the Jacobin Club, but the *body* was extended every where, and after a thousand involutions, came round like the serpent in the hand of Saturn, and terminated in a Parisian mob.

To these clubs, all local, but all in continuity, and all alike assuming the power of death and confiscation, resorted every where the bold, the ambitious, the wicked and profane, and in these they found the gratification of every wish. The passions were of the same quality in all, but the *word* was given by the Parisian Club, and passed freely through every link like an electrical flame: on the various articulations of this monster grew the *revolutionary*

revolutionary force, consisting of detachments from the *body*, and which we may term its feelers and its stings, thirsting for slaughter and for spoil; yet from the Jacobins at Paris was emitted the most powerful and most active force, for to that club has always been allowed a pre-eminence in ill; and thus a regular circulation of evil has pervaded the *whole*, and rendered the monster through all its involutions strictly *one*, and this is in truth that *unity* which they swear to defend, without which the *federalism* which they so fearfully apprehend as their final doom would immediately commence. The dragons teeth would be sown, and starting up into armed men, a mutual destruction would ensue. Some efforts towards *federalism* have indeed been made, that is, local combinations have been formed on the principles of local defence; but the monster, quick in its sensibility of danger, has called forth at once all its poison, and the very names of the places are no more.

But it may be asked, if I mean to form a system upon figure—by no means; but I have a right to explain as I can; yet as the question before us is highly interesting, I am content to go again over the same ground without any figure at all. I am to say, then, that France, while meditating a new constitution, which she was unable suddenly to form, was without those institutions by which she might have been temporarily sustained; in consequence of which political clubs or assemblies were

were formed; every club assuming, in defect of general government, all sorts of political power within the limits of its locality. Power once obtained is, we know, very tenaciously held; all those clubs wished to retain this power, and those members, of course, *most*, who most wished to abuse it: the wish of one club was the wish of all, and an union thereupon grew for the preservation of this power; they linked together, and a common sensibility was felt throughout. But there must be a first principle somewhere which may put the whole *as a whole* in motion, independent of the local energies of particular clubs, and without which there can be no unity, or any system of common support: this ruling principle was found in the Jacobin Club in Paris.

These Clubs originated in a state of disorder and mutability: *disorder* and *instability* became, therefore, the governing principles of the Clubs; *that which produced them must preserve them*; a permanent state of disorder must, herefore, be made or found, and the most daring, bloody, and profligate in every club, must of course take the lead; confiscations must be had, and new crimes invented, with strange names to terrify and confound: the moderate and good must thereupon hide their better dispositions under the mask of violence, in which alone was safety: all confidence and friendship must of course cease, and not a brother venture to breathe into the bosom of a brother,

brother, a wish for virtue or for peace; and thus was obtained an unanimity in evil. A dissembled one we may charitably hope and believe, but with all the effect which a real one could produce.

But who were the subjects of this tyranny? At first the rich, and finally each other. The nobles and the church afforded, in the first instance, the most inviting confiscations: they were charged a *royalists, aristocrates, incivics, federalists, counter-revolutionists, moderatists, neutrals*, and other names not worth remembering, and these clubs were the accusers, judges, and executioners, as well also as the executors of the dead. Every hour did this anarchy organize itself more and more; it inspired *communes, municipalities, departments,* *assemblies, revolutionary tribunals, theatres*, and I know not what; and it appointed civic festivals, and claimed even the day and year as its own, nay even assumed, as it were, in mockery, the formalities of justice and of law.

During the earlier part of this period, there was a mockery of election and of a convention supposed to be legitimately born (and so possibly it was) but out of time and too weak to live; a *representation* it was called—but a representation of what? of the sovereign mob? No. This sovereign was itself come forth and organized in clubs, and was now acting and speaking from the clod. It wanted no representation unless for mockery and sport, and accordingly

ingly it saw without emotion, the members of this Convention treated with scorn by the Jacobins, and *told out* for the guillotine by *the score*. It remains however, and serves to clothe the leaders of the Jacobines with a kind of public robe, an investiture of pretence, which lends an imposing sanction to their decrees; for it is wonderful how long words will outlive the subjects to which they were originally applied.

This Convention, however, cannot, one should think, impose much, for it is in fact, a downright puppet-show, moved by the committee of public safety, for the amusement of the galleries, where, also, processions and pantomimes are performed, and occasional tumbling and rope-dancing, by the committee themselves. This committee, *ministers of the guillotine*, state themselves to be instruments only, arising periodically out of the body of the Convention, into which body they are again periodically resolved; but they can mean only that such is the *form*, not the *reality*; for every body knows that they can, at pleasure, put that inviolable body of puppets, the Convention, into a Jacobine bag, and draw them forth again, whenever they like, for popular sport.

But whatever be the Conventional *farce*, the nation itself exhibits the most tragical scene. Princes immolated, whilst vassals reign; constitutions made for mockery, wherein elec-

tors, in spite of representation, come personally forward, as a *sovereign mob*, to misrule themselves; where every thing is reversed, where a town has absorbed an empire, and the gallerie ruled the hall; where the *legislative* is placed in a Rump, the *judicial* in a faction, and the *executive* in a guillotine, under whose universal yoke every individual Frenchman is liable to pass, *once and no more*. I have read of a nation of Tartars (Aristocratic, no doubt) whose nominal sovereign was a great book; but neither this book nor any other sovereign, real, or fictitious, have ever performed such wonders as this sovereign guillotine; maintaining liberty by constraint, animating courage by fear, feeding armies with paper, and putting gold and rags upon a par, and, far exceeding the wonders of the divining rod, not only pointing at secret mines of ore, but raising up gold in ready coin from the bowels of the earth. Yet is not this mighty sovereign, after all, instinct with spirit, it does not move itself, but has its favoured ministers, who must pass in turn under the yoke, and be no more.

But I may seem to speak too lightly on a subject which deserves the most serious tone; for France appears as an immense whirlpool, ingulphing within its mad vortex, men, things, and principles; all that was dignified, all that was generous, just, and good; and throwing up in its tumultuous reflux, all evil; equality, madness, and crime;

nor has there appeared any hope, that this wild rotation would cease. The Sans Culotte of to-day, enriched with the spoils of the tumult, becomes the Aristocrate of to-morrow. He is immersed in his turn. Revolution grows out of revolution, and the *fire-eyed monster* of Anarchy, like the *green eyed one* in the play, *makes the delicious food it so voraciously feeds on*. In the mean time, the bare ribs and jointed bones of this destroyer hold firm ; in flux indeed, but the parts which fall are instantly supplied, and the *clubs*, or the *communes*, or the *assemblies*, or the *sections* (no matter for the name) are as strong, as bloody, ferocious, and rapacious as before. *Robert-spieres* direct, and the like murders are committed, whether by massacres in gross, or the guillotine in detail.

Corresponding with this confusion, the French language, itself, is reduced into gibberish, and it should seem as if some new academy had been instituted to confound the meaning of words ; but the guillotine is an excellent expositor, and enlightens all.

There are two subjects hitherto delayed, which I almost fear to touch, *religion and morality*. No figures, no frippery, should disgrace the solemn horror of a scene wherein not only France, but human nature itself, is so deeply concerned. Can it be, that all modes of reverence and worship of

the Creator of the Universe are abolished, and his very being and attributes denied? and by such a worm as man? is this in our general nature under any perversion? or is it in France alone? I have said that we are not divided by nature into casts, but I trust that this single exception may be found; and certain it is, that there has always appeared to me, and I find to others, a certain peculiar, however derived, in the minds, and even in the external features of the French, which seem to separate them from the general mass; if so, this comfort may be drawn, that with men so distinguished, the rest of the world can never fraternize.

But to be without religion, would be but going half way; they have found in religion as in other things, a *negative principle*; and the worship withdrawn from the Deity, seems to be enthusiastically paid to the Prince of Hell; nor should I be surprised to find *Legendre*, his head crowned with the tri-coloured ensign, and his posteriors bare, lead up, monthly, for sacrifice, some young and blameless *Aristocrate*, and butcher him even at the shrine of Marat. As yet the new race of days and seasons are but begun, but hereafter how gorgeous will not the saints of their new calendar appear? Robertspiere and Danton,* and the rest, all crimson

* It will appear from this passage, as well as from others, that these sheets were written some weeks ago.—Why the publication was delayed, is not worth relating; but it appears

son with slaughter, and blazoned in their brethren's blood. But of *Atheism*, it may be perhaps enough to say, that it is the religion of anarchy. I have, however, read, that in one of their late humours at the Jacobin, they have restored the Maker to his universe, and by acclamation too, which is considered as the most honourable way: but they are variable in their fancies, and I shall not believe them to be quite in earnest, till I find them also disposed to restore his laws.

But hitherto in morals, as well as in religion, their negative principles seem wholly to prevail; *he is a good citizen*, say they, *an excellent patriot indeed!* what enormous mischief has he done? the Jacobins have lately purified. *Purified* is the word, let no body object; those who claim a right to pervert *things*, may be allowed a dominion over

from hence, that he who would delineate the present variable condition of France, should dip his pen in the rainbow, and publish every morning in some daily post. Who, a few weeks ago, could have foreseen that *Danton* would so soon have been thrown from the wheel, or that *Legendre*, no longer the sacrificer, but the victim, should be seen shrinking from the knife, uplifted by another hand. Perhaps other and more extraordinary events are coming forward.—I would not swear that we shall not behold another *Mahomet* in *Robespierre*, and find *Atheism* and *Fanaticism* very lovingly shake hands together. The extremes of each are so near each other, that they may very well, for what I can see, exchange the fraternal kiss.

words;

words; but how have they purified? by *ill*; he who among them could fairly prove that he had committed enormities, for which in any other condition of things he would be hanged, and well deserve to be so, was allowed to be a pure Jacobin. Happy Robertspiere, who during the whole course of this severe purification, was confessed, on all sides, to have obtained a superior excellence in ill. *Anacharsis Cloots* was suspected both of benevolence and cash, and he accordingly awaits the guillotine; with him, *Thomas Paine*, though no member. But what had *Thomas* done? he never was suspected surely of a single doit; but he was suspected, it seems, of commiseration; and more to shame him, of commiseration for a King; and thus the outcast of England becomes the Martyr of France, and *Thomas* dies at last, for being *righteous overmuch*. But yet, I think, they will in this instance, forbear the guillotine, lest the *Crown and Anchor* should rejoice; but they will, however, effect their purposes another way; they will withhold from him his beloved brandy, and he will thereupon die (to speak in their language) of infortitude in a cell.

Having said thus much, I return to the question already put, how the present administration in France can obtain so prompt an obedience, as, in fact, they do obtain, throughout all France, to the harshest commands; the answer is, I think, now become easy. They are the lead-

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ers of the Jacobin Club, assuming a legitimate right, derived from a supposed free Convention, representing the whole kingdom; but in fact, possessing their efficiency as leaders of the club only, which from time to time, they purify as they like. Through a chain of clubs they pass their purposes. Obedience to the chief club is the law of all, as being, in fact, the only principle of their union, and permanent existence. Their clubs are all executive, and consequently France is executive at every point. The *word* is given, be it what it may, by the Jacobine and the members of the other various clubs, constituted as they are, blindly drive and are driven as the motion given by the Jacobin shall direct the way; *all* act upon *all*, and delay or disobedience, or even debate, would be incivism, and confiscation, and death: those who compel others, are themselves compelled, and they feel in their own bosoms the weapons of their own revolutionary force; and they submit, therefore, with dissembled joy and real terroure to these self-created necessities, and drawing the poorest peasant into their vortex, rise, one and all, to triumph or to perish in a mass!

Whatever therefore can be effected by force, generating force, this administration may clearly effect. But there are other things which may seem out of the reach of force. Money, in particular, is a *natural measure of commercial value*,
and

and it seems as hard to substitute any thing else in its stead, as to make a butterfly pass for a yard, or a Tulip for a pound. But as this point does not seem to be generally understood, I will endeavour with some care to explain; no people, it may be affirmed, can rise unto, or subsist in a state of civilization, or even in an organized anarchy, without an established measure of *commercial value*, not less important than those of extension or of weight. I pass the imperfect effects which imperfect states make to obtain such a measure. But the perfect measure is composed of the two metals, gold and silver *bullion*, composed and combined for local use. But these metals, in France, having been rashly expended in the first moments of her anarchy, and having been largely drawn off by her Emigrants, had nearly failed; and it became necessary, if possible, to supply its place. This in an orderly condition of things, by loans and by exports, might easily have been done, that is, new coins might thereby have been obtained in the place of those which she had expended; but *credit*, that is, the credit that, at a certain future time, real money would be produced and paid, will, during that time supply its place, which credit is signified, we know, by paper notes; but *credit* as well as money, was gone in France. But was there then no remedy? None, certainly, under the general law of human affairs. But France was an anarchy, and might act against that law. In short, the committee of public safety found a remedy in violence

lence, injustice, and force; their method was short; they manufactured rags into paper, and to different pieces of this paper they gave the same denominations of value as had belonged to their former coins, and ordained that each piece of this paper should pass for its nominal value, *by the guillotine*; but *this*, the reader will easily perceive, was but half the work, for the value of commodities would rise in proportion to the nothingness in value of the supposed equivalent; but they cured *that* too, they set a nominal value on commodities, on the scale, as nearly as the nature of the thing would allow, of their ancient price, at which rate it was ordained by *the authority aforesaid*, that the commodities and assignats should pass for each other; with this alleviation naturally attending, that the force should go round; he that took the assignat on force, was allowed to avail himself of the same force, to pass them again on his neighbour, at the same nominal rate. And thus it appears, that a state may endure by carrying the principle of force and injustice to the extreme. And we find here a source of money for domestic uses, of which there appears no end. But how has she supplied herself for the purpose of purchasing foreign store? for it is obvious that where the force does not extend, the assignats are nothing, but are reduced to rags again; but the resources of this committee were not to be exhausted; for having withdrawn all bullion out of

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domestic

domestic use, it was easy for them to collect, by means of the same guillotine, all the coin and bullion which remained in the country into their own hands, leaving assignats to circulate at home, as the proper money of an Anarchical state; whilst they applied the real bullion for the purchase of such stores of war and subsistence from abroad, as their exigencies should require. This fund is said to be very large, and perhaps is so, as relative to the uses to which it is now applied, though I do not believe it to amount to one fourth of their former circulation. They pretend to economize this fund, taking, doubtless, due care that no other individuals than themselves, shall hold or lavish the precious store for any other uses than have already been named; and in particular, that none shall find wherewith to support them in any country, where to their miseries might incline them to pass. All this may be considered as ability, but it is the ability of necessity; one villany compels another, and they go they know not whither.*

I have

* Nothing can more evidently prove, that France is anarchical throughout, than that she should be able to substitute force for money. This measure of commercial value is forced upon us gradually, and by a gentle necessity. It produces and supports, and is, in return, supported and perfected, by a civilized and legitimate state of society. But these gentlemen repeal at once the wisdom of nature, and substitute their own force in the place, differing from *necessity* in this, that necessity always uses the human faculties as its instru-

I have now spoken what I have wished to say, concerning the internal of France, yet not without reference to a farther view; namely, the influence upon the whole condition of France produced by that external war, which she cannot do otherwise than provoke, and the danger arising therefrom to the rest of Europe. But before I enter into this consideration, I think it reasonable to contemplate for a moment, the nature of that constitution which she was very near obtaining, and the effects which probably would have arisen therefrom.

The Brisotines made a bold effort to renew the democracy by representation, and perished in the attempt. It was indeed a very desperate one, as it was not reasonable to expect that the people now become sovereigns in their own persons, would

instrument, and the effect corresponds with the means; but brutal force acts against those faculties, and reduces them to nothing. Those who know the nature of money, and through how many mediums it must pass to its perfection, must stand astonished, that principles so sacred and so various should be all reversed and comprized in a guillotine. I had thoughts of stating those principles (and indeed have done so, and they now lie before me) and by so doing, I meant to put it out of all question, that France was wholly anarchical; but I find what I have written to be too long for insertion in a note, and that it cannot be abridged.

be induced to dethrone themselves, and furnish the Convention with a military force to that end. The time was past, and a democracy by representation was no longer the object of the general wish. The very attempt was become rebellion against established Anarchy, and in so far the Brisotine faction may be said to have deserved their fate; yet, if the plan of supporting the Convention by a departmental force to be periodically renewed, which was the object of the Brisotines, had accompanied its birth, the democracy might possibly have succeeded, and have grown strong enough, in time, to have sustained itself without a military nurse. The design was, to have given the Convention a guard from the different departments to be periodically changed, which would have given efficiency to that body, and would have enabled them by their committees, resolvable into the body of the Convention, to have exercised all the powers of government, and to have obtained obedience to their decrees.

The theory seems fair, and has in another place been practically executed on a smaller scale. *Connecticut* in America was just this very democracy by representation, and the deputies were elected twice in every year, and never was public tranquillity or purity of manners so well maintained. But to preserve the principles of such a democracy, whether in France or elsewhere, I think, that it should be secured.

cure of peace. In war, if the elections should be remitted as impracticable, and there upon the assembly stand fast, then war would be perpetually provoked, and the army would become the instrument of an ambitious few; but if the elections should, in spite of every difficulty, be made, and the assembly of course *revolve*, then the army, wanting a fixed and visible head, would become attached to some favourite chief, and a military despotism ensue. *A revolving government and a standing force seem to me incompatible things.* It would therefore, as I guess, dissolve, not into Anarchy, which is a rare and novel thing, but into despotism, or perhaps a mixed state.

Of Connecticut, where this constitution produced the best effect, we should observe, that it stood in no fear of war, and had no establishment to that end. It stood as part of a great system, which acted salutarily upon it from without; it was neighboured also by kindred states, and by the common parent of them all *controuled*; but France, disposed by the temper of her people to war, is surrounded by enemies, and would, impelled by popular passions, have been almost constantly in a state of hostility with them all.

I know of no other democracy by representation. The cases of Athens and of Rome, called democracies, will not apply.

On the whole, and according to the best, but very imperfect views, which I am able to take of the question, France, under a free Convention of this kind, would have been for some time extremely impertinent at least, yet without losing her civilization, and acting by detachments, and not pouring out, as at present, her whole collected strength on every foe; but this state of things, however, could not, for many reasons, as it should appear, long endure, and principally because it would have had no solid parts, but must have existed in rotatory motion, subject by various accidents to be fatally disturbed. But the very fancy of such a Constitution is now gone by, and should not detain us more.

I shall proceed to consider France not as isolated, but connected, acting against and acted upon by the surrounding states, and her whole condition must be therefore combined of her own internal principles, such as they are, and of this action and re-action producing a general effect. And I shall involve in the question such objections to the statement I have made, as have chanced to come in my way, and to which I shall give some reply.

I have already said, that as the principles of legitimate states are tranquillity within, and defence
without,

without, so those of an anarchy, in every thing perverse, are *within dissension and without offence*. External war clothes the most furious passions with deceitful names ; *virtue, patriotism, civism*, and the rest, and feeds those passions with the hope of conquest, dominion, aggrandizement, and glory. It appeases also, or at least regulates somewhat of the rage within, by giving it an external vent, which else might ferment too abundantly, and anarchy become suddenly its own grave.

But I am told that France is not to be considered as an anarchy, but an infuriate despotism. On which supposition, I presume, the Committee of Safety are to be combined and considered as one tyrant. I do not know why this distinction is insisted upon, unless it be to support an argument, that France is in a condition to be treated with— for with despotism we may undoubtedly treat. But I must observe, that one great and essential difference between infuriate despotism and anarchy is *this*, that the conduct of the one is founded in choice, and that of the other on necessity : *Domitian*, if it had pleased him, might have been as amiable as his brother *Titus*, *the Lover and the Love of human kind* ; but it was not to his humour, he did not like it, and that was all. But such is not the case of this Committee furiously impelling it, it is true, but yet as furiously impelled ; and if they did not daily furnish the hounds of anarchy with carnage, they

they would themselves be torn pieces by them and scattered in the wind ; but it may, perhaps, be said, that they like the sport—I believe so. *Choice* and *necessity* may travel very lovingly together ; but if the former fails in the march, the latter, notwithstanding, goes sturdily on without any regard to its fainting brother.

The administration in an anarchy, is a *result* only ; but in a despotism, it is the *cause*.

I wish with all my heart, that any man could make it out, that France was a despotism only, however enraged ; such a persuasion as that might set our minds very much at ease. We might, indeed, lament over a fallen dynasty ; but it is a common observation, that we bear the misfortunes of our neighbours with very patient minds. The members of the Committee, already considered by this argument as a corporate unity, might soon resolve themselves by *poniards*, or otherwise into a personal one, and in such dignified person, let us say Robespierre, a new dynasty might commence, with whom we might treat, and whose established power, if need were, we might guarantee. But, alas ! where is that steady military organization usually linked to the throne of power ? Where that solid base, and that orderly subordination of parts out of which such an elevation may grow ? This Committee wear the Imperial purple indeed ; alas ! they are but the bloody
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though

though willing instruments of daring ruffians and intricate clubs—politically wise, it will be said, and daring : yes ; possessing the most perfect of all wisdom and all courage ; the wisdom of necessity, and the courage of despair ; likely to beget in us that prudence and that vigilance which out of the necessity of self-defence will naturally arise.

Questions have also arisen concerning *aggression*, which surely might have been spared. If I should seek the tyger in his lair and assail him there, am I the aggressor ? Or does not the tyger bear aggression in his very frame ? Anarchy in like manner puts the world on its defence. France cannot preserve her present condition but by external war : a month's external and internal peace, and one half would die hysterical, and the other, it is to be hoped, would return with penitence and sorrow to the fane of truth. But why not, therefore, suspend our hostilities ? Why should we compress her into strength ? Why give her by external war the principles of internal union, without which she would destroy herself ?—Who speak thus ? On which side do they speak ? If peace would destroy her, by what arguments would they persuade her to put herself into this state of self-destruction ? I wish they had eloquence enough so to persuade her ; but she has more wit or more instinct, or call it what you will, than to be thus persuaded. She bears hostility in her very nature. Hostility not against one nation only, but

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all, as they may come into contact with her; though, no doubt, she would be glad to take them in turn. Against such a principle of general hostility, all nations, without a single exception, should unite. The whole system of Europe is attacked, and neutrality is treason, though, perhaps, most excuseable in little *Genoa*, fascinated beneath the dragon's eye.

But where is America? Will she mingle her honours with anarchy? I do not think it possible: she confesses obligations. To whom? To those whom the present powers of France have destroyed, and whose unhappy fate they should therefore in all reason resent. But what are her obligations, taken in any point of view? Obligations to those who could give her no other pledge of friendship or fidelity than the interest which they avowed themselves to have in dividing the British empire—America from England, as England from America. The false friend of one, and the real enemy of both. The profligacy of this declaration announced to every intelligent mind the approaching dissolution of that government by which it was made. Decorum has its uses, and will go far even after honour and integrity is past; but avowed profligacy is dissolution itself; but, in the mean time, what obligation? Obligation was renounced, and accommodating injury substituted in its place. We may love the
treason,

treason, but the traitor ought to be hated and despised. But *now* even accommodation is past. The war of brothers is no more; but the ties of kindred remain, and that distance which should render us more dear to each other will secure us from a second fall. But does America talk of obligations? To England she owes those which no wars or time can cancel. To England she owes her very being, her civilization, her policy, her arts; will she renounce the sensations of kindred and of blood? Let her first give us back our philosophers and divines—our *Locke*, our *Newton*, and our *Shakespear*. Let them give us back our language and our law.—But it cannot be—we are and must be one people, though of different government, yet of one interest and one mind. England cannot suffer without injuring America at her very source. I know that there are subjects of competition between us, which should be left to time. If she mingles injustice and rapacity with her growth, it will grow into a principle which will strengthen with her strength, infect her morals, and destroy her in the end. She has something to fear. She is, in progress indeed, to become great, but her governments are in progress too. They are not fixed. The government she now wears is rather for fashion than for use. She can subsist without any government at all. Her's is a rising market, converting every incident into

value and use : policy and special views of temporary interests are beneath her condition. Honour, and sentiment, and virtue should be now her traffic, beyond all attainments of commodities or gold. These will come in course without her special heed. She should be cautious not to stain her honours by mingling with anarchy and feeding a dragon grown out of the corruption of the human mind, and which threatens to generate more dragons, and to deform the world. On the outskirts of America and on the shores of the ocean there may be an interested clamour, but it cannot, I think, affect the great body of the landholders within.

But there is another republic nearer home who ought, I think, for their own honour, to come forth : secure, as they think, in their localities, they govern themselves on ancient maxims of policy and prudence, without enough considering that those maxims may hold a great while and yet not always. They never saw an anarchy before, and therefore to that condition those maxims may not apply. Do they consider France as a sister republic ? What sister ! What republic ! there is no meaning in the term, or what there is, is negative only. It negatives the name of king, but for the rest it may mean any thing. It may mean a gang of thieves, a horde of Tartars, or the anarchy of France. Let them suppose that the rest of the world should for a period become

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neutral,

neutral, would they like to be kissed and fraternized by France? Perhaps their localities might not avail them long. And will they skulk, as it were, under a shield held up by others, and not themselves combat against the common enemy of all? This is not like the firmness and gallantry of the Helvetian States. But, *defence* out of the question, the cause of *humanity* calls upon all—humanity towards twenty-five millions of people, now labouring under the stings of the severest tyranny that ever afflicted so large a portion of mankind, and whom the whole world are concerned to restore, once more, into a state of order and peace.

But to proceed—Other objections have been made, but with little reason. Would you exterminate a whole people? There is not a mouth in England large enough to say *Aye*. But put it the other way, would you defend yourself to the last extremity? Who is so mealy-mouthed as to say *No*? The proper answer is, that we will go the length of self-defence, be it what it may; and that we think it reasonable that some compensation should be made and some security given, if it can be had, that the like injuries may not be renewed. But who can sound the future? We must do what practicability, limited by justice and reason, can effect.

But

But what, say these objectors, is our ultimate view? The answer is easy, *safety* and *peace*; the means are such as we can employ, and the result is in the dark; I would not have the finger of a Frenchman hurt, if I could help it. They are our brothers, though under a delusion unheard-of before; but if they are not effectually restrained from hurting others, they will, undoubtedly, desolate the world. Every political expedient, every assuasive art will, it may be hoped, be practised: but if all should fail, we are upon our defence, and we must resolutely maintain it through all its resorts. The danger is imminent, and the time full of dread. If the French were savages only, it were nothing; but they have much to reform before it comes to *that*; they are an organized Anarchy of twenty-five millions, possessing all the means and arts of war, with principles of furious energy diffused throughout. Every part in motion, obeying and obeyed; yet, *without shape, distinguishable in member, joint, or limb*; without a hand to offer, or a faith to give. And in one article of the highest import, possessing an acknowledged superiority over all the coalesced states. The French artillery is more numerous, better understood, and better served than in other states. The principle of war has been so much changed by the use of those machines, that an army seems to be little more than their attendant train; and when the battle is over, prepared

pared to reap the spoil ; inſomuch, that it ſeems likely, that in proceſs of time, war will be the moſt mechanical of all occupations, and its events ſo calculated on the grounds of mathematical certainty, that what is now called the fortune or chance of war, will be ſpoken of no more ; an event which, ſhould it come to paſs, would give ſtability to induſtry and empire, and effectually check the invaſions of poverty on wealth ; for we may preſume, that opulence and artillery would grow together. But in the preſent moment, France has an advantage in this article, and well knows how to bring it into uſe. But ſhe has fortunately alſo many wants ; ſhe wants iron, and poſſibly nitre ; for as to the boaſts ſhe makes of an ample ſupply, I give little heed. Nor, in my opinion, is her fund of bullion collected or collecting for the purchaſe of military ſtores, nearly equal to her need. But we ſhall not be without cauſe of the moſt juſt alarm, if we look at her in her exertions, deriving her firſt motions from the leaders of the Jacobines. We ſhall then behold her attacking and attacked on all ſides, defeating and defeated, pushing her advantages or returning to the charge, in all which conditions ſhe appears truly formidable ; and after this, we are to ſee her riſe in maſs ; and offer her firſt ranks to deſtruction, that their ſlayers, fatigued with ſlaughter, may themſelves periſh by thoſe behind. Great was the aſtoniſhment of
Europe

Europe at this event, and much surprize was expressed at the means by which it was effected ; but we judged upon the maxims of our own sober condition, and knew not to what length such a termagant as this might go. But the whole mystery consisted, as I think, in the causes already assigned, namely, that France, contrary to the condition of all other nations, was executive at every point ; and that under a reciprocal compulsion, they take the field ; wounds, and death are nothing to those who escape them ; those who perish tell no tales, and those who survive survive to boast ; perhaps to be told that they have *deserved well of their country*. In the mean time, there is scarcely a man among them who does not curse that country, and lament his fate ; but the like occasion, however, returns, and the revolutionary force is as peremptory as before.

But what ought to give other nations the greatest alarm, is that out of this habit of war, there is likely to grow, in time, a zeal and permanent strength, and foldiers to arise the most proper to give it the highest effect. The weak and the infirm will perish under the severities of the field, and leave behind them those only who are to be considered as the bones and sinews of war. It is not time, or courage, or experience, that forms the Veteran ; it is that constitution which survives cold and hunger and toil, and which nothing but the cannon ball can effectually destroy. It is true,
that

that to this Constitution is generally added courage, as the result of strength; but this is not so much the value of a Veteran, as that he will sustain wear, and tear, that he is not to be found on a sick list, but will come strong and healthy out of every campaign; he may be computed as one man out of ten, and to carry the rest in his belly. An army of such men is formidable indeed, nor are they only in themselves hardy, but become also in course, the parents of a hardy race; add, that whatever there is of military genius, must come forth, as equality opens to the best soldier a superior right of command.

These, I compute, are among the evils which threaten the safety of all Europe, and call upon the nations to combine, and crush, if possible, this Dragon in the shell; but do they require yet stronger motives? let them, then, hear the voice of France, inciting her wolves to slaughter—" *Patriot virtues, enlightened Sans Culottes*, behold your prey. *Sovereigns* without subjects, behold your subjects there! the slaves have already bent their necks to despots, and will not refuse dominion to the free. Do you wish, O Citizens, to exchange your assignats for coin, the slaves have gold, you will find it in *Amsterdam*? You will find it---where, I trust, they will first find a grave! Sons of philosophy and war, iron should be your only manufacture, *exclusively your own*;

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" who

“ who touch it are your foes. War only is worthy
 “ of your virtues. War your sole pursuit, and
 “ tribute your only gain. Let the drudges of
 “ England labour in the mine of commerce,
 “ their tribute will be only the more abundant,
 “ The slaves are well fed, and may afford to
 “ bleed; their palaces and their houses, if not
 “ their churches, are rich; their beds and
 “ couches are soft, and their women fair.”

I do not say that France has distinct objects, or
 contemplates with precision her future course;
 but it is a common observation, that none climb
 so high as those who know not whither they go.

There is yet another consideration of an un-
 pleasant sort; but which ought to be added as the
 subject of very just alarm, and such as ought to
 excite, in the moment, the most vigorous efforts.
 The states with which we are coalesced, are not,
 I am afraid, so constituted as to gain strength by
 compression, and to restore themselves thereupon
 by an elastic force. Nothing but a general in-
 terest, resting upon a common centre, can effect
that. The subjects of those states are submissive,
 it is true, but under the humility and dejection of
 the slave there is malice; and he is willing, on
 any fair occasion, to hazard a severer fate, on
 condition only, that the oppressor is levelled with
 the oppressed. He who under the necessary in-
 equalities of political society forgets that himself and
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his fellow clod are naturally equal, is an oppressor on principle, and he cannot at once be injurious and safe. But what shall we say? abstracting this country alone, among the states in union this is nearly the case, and they only act powerfully, for a certain time, *without*, whilst discontent is mining all *within*: their resources also, are limited, and may soon fail; whereas France is already at the worst, and has nothing further to fear. Even we ourselves are not without our vexations; upon ancient establishments some rust will grow; but in the present moment, it would be madness to touch any principal wheel, we must carry ourselves, as we are, to battle, and not venture to manœuvre in the face of the foe.

I will add but a few words. It has been insisted on, that our alarms are vain, for that the present state of France cannot long endure, as all moveable property, houses, and establishment of every kind, must, in the rapid whirl of things, be suddenly swept away. It is possibly true, that palaces may fall, but cottages will rise. The sexes will meet on better and more equal terms than before, and the heirs of equality be more numerously born. The land will be divided into smaller portions, and will yield, in spite of the intermissions of industry, and the uncertainty of possession, more fruits than security can draw from extensive farms. Our ingrossed farms in England have spread solitude around. In an-

tient times, our commons and forests were the copious sources of population, the strong and natural supply of labour and of war, and the numerous tenants of our small farms, their sturdy sons and rosy daughters made the fields rejoice; ill exchanged for the solitary factor of oppression, and his half-starved slaves. But we must not give way to regrets. Let us look to *France*, where passions are opposed to passions; rapine is met in full career by rapine; ambition by ambition; and revenge falls by revenge; where the whole country is overwhelmed by anarchy, and over the wide circuit of which, the dove of peace, however commissioned, might stretch her wings in vain. Not a single leaf of olive can be found.

I shall conclude this pamphlet even here. The subject is not of such a nature, as that in the language of mechanics, I can correctly wind it up, or put it, as in a finished state, out of hand; for say what one may, there will be much left to be said. I have, however, executed my first purpose, and something more. It appeared to me, viewing the subject as I do, to be an act of duty, in all of whatever condition, to contribute something towards producing, in this moment, an union of the public mind, which the writer of these sheets knew not how otherwise to attempt as his part of duty, than by delineating, as he could, the danger, and thereby spreading the alarm;

alarm ; and being a mere speculatist, and without connection, he thought it likely, that he might place this subject in rather a new point of view ; for those who catch the tone from one-another are more likely, as he thinks, to blunt the impressions already made, than to give them new vigour and force. For his motives he has no apology to make, for the execution, much. He fears also, the imputation of vanity and impertinence, in thus thrusting himself forward among more authentic men ; and meaning to *propose* only, and not presuming to *teach*, he is afraid, upon a slight view of the papers before him, that he has not, every where, carefully expressed that deference for the judgement of others, and that just diffidence of his own, which yet he most certainly feels ; but he hopes that every inattention of that sort, the reader will be pleased good naturedly to supply.

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P O S T S C R I P T.

THE writer of this pamphlet having, on the death of the Queen of France, written a small letter, published in the Public Advertiser, this letter obtained the notice of some friends, who thought it worthy of a re-publication in a separate sheet, which was accordingly executed; out of respect, therefore, to their favourable opinion, he thinks it incumbent upon him to annex that re-publication to the foregoing sheets.

The following Letter appeared in one of the public papers soon after the execution of the late unfortunate MARIE ANTOINETTE. The complicated scene of guilt and enormity which preceded and accompanied the act of taking away the Queen's life, is here faithfully delineated. Several Gentlemen having read this performance with great pleasure, concurred in thinking that a re-publication of it would be acceptable to those persons who might not have an opportunity of seeing the original publication, in which the atrocious conduct and motives of the French regicides are so well exposed to view.

SIR,

I ASK, coolly and temperately, if the most conversant in history know of any crime committed at any period, more base and atrocious than that which has been lately perpetrated in *France*? I speak not of the murder of the late king, charged and found guilty of *self-defence*, and falsely too; for he had voluntarily sacrificed more than half his rights for a supposed public good. But it must be owned that the Convention, resolute as they were to possess themselves of the whole regal power, were under strong temptations. *Living*, the king might be considered as a fixed standard of royalty, around whom every thing that was regal, might suddenly collect. *Dead*, the claims of royalty would vest in a baby,
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and could not be transmitted by the laws of nature in a direct, nor, by the laws of the kingdom, in a collateral line; and this baby was in their hands, and they would become thereby the depositories both of regal claims and popular power; nor were there any deceits practised beyond a few slight forms: it was in fact, an open, profitable murder; nor was the poignard so much lifted against *Louis* as against *Royalty*. Their object was to murder the *king* in the *man*, and accordingly they struck like able villains, and not like insidious fiends. They took also, frankly, the *evil* with the *good*; they revolted, and knew they should revolt a great party in France, and all the world beside; and bold and daring acts, openly avowed, redeem themselves in some measure, in our imperfect apprehensions, from disgrace, and are exemplified beside in the former time.

But we are now to speak to a very different subject ---the recent execution of the *Queen*. Was it necessary or profitable that she should fall? and *that* too after a considerable interval of time! A *woman*, a *stranger*, and at the time, no otherwise connected with France but as the mother of the child. Wherefore should they now, without any visible motive, revolt the world again? She was dignified and heroic, it may be said; but what then? Amid so many surrounding dangers, she could not be especially feared; they might have held her in bondage. *Living*, she

was a valuable pledge ; but *dead*, she was nothing. But whether they set her at liberty, or held her in chains, seemed very immaterial. The child only was the interesting object, and he would of course remain. It was indeed equally important that they should detain him, and yet preserve his life. *Destroyed*, his claims would pass to his uncles, who are adults, and out of their power ; and yet to let him grow into manhood might be dangerous too. But how could it be helped ? Among evils, nothing is left us but to choose the *least*. All their purposes might be effected during his minority ; and if not, they might trust the chapter of accidents for the rest. Such, I think, would have been the reasoning of ordinary villany ; but it was for the Committee of General Safety to assume the policy of Hell. It was for them to *seeth the lamb in the mother's blood* ; to destroy the promise of manhood in a child ; to preserve his body, and to kill his mind. It was for them to find out a full-grown *Agrippina* in a wretched prisoner, and an infant *Nero* in the shell ; to convert a *mother* and *woman* into a monster, and a *prince* into a footerkin---the natural increase, according to them, and most genuine offspring of a throne. And can the virtuous and enlightened Sans Culottes, exclaim they, tolerate a monster, and venerate an ape ? And can they suffer an *Agrippina* to live, or a *Nero* to reign ? Already, they affirm, has this wicked *imp* of Royalty committed incest with his

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mother ;

mother ; already has he sworn away her life ; already is he debilitated with debauchery and pollution, and in passage to become an idiot and a beast. But these are impossible crimes ; they are contrary to nature, and no mother will believe. But why speak of nature ? say they ; there is one nature of *men*, and another of *kings* ; and they are in constant hostility with each other. But can ignorance itself believe ? Will not the grossness of the falsehood betray the villany ; and disappoint their ends ? It may be hoped so indeed ; but yet—I cannot tell. *France* is heated like a furnace, she boils over with fury ; and those ingredients are thrown in, that they may operate to inflame the mass.--- The great art of this Committee is to blind the people in their own rage, to render them desperate by a participation in guilt, and to shut *out* all other nations, that may thereby shut *in* the French ; and in that state provoke them by the fabrication of external injuries into such acts of supposed retaliation, as, acting and re-acting, may involve them in tenfold rage, in which state alone the people can be manufactured to their use. Rage is always blind, and before any degree of reason or common sense can be restored, this Committee may perhaps profit of its crimes ; and as to the *future*, it is their character, that at whatever is posthumous they laugh ; nor would it be amiss, I think, if ministers would consider that we are engaged in a war of opinion as well as force, and that the pen may possibly be well drawn

forth in aid of the sword. If the wicked arts of this Committee could be well and plainly developed in the midst of France, the deluded multitude might be taught to find their greatest enemies in the Convention itself, and immolate them there; but be that as it may, there is one assertion which they doubtless mean to verify; that is, they mean to produce this boy, after two or three years, by the most cursed acts, a perfect imbecile, and unfit to reign; and already have they taught us to expect such an event.

I do not know that this child has given any evidence against his mother, and I hope not. We have only, as it should appear, their word for it, which is nothing. But if he has been induced so to do, no matter by what arts, he has swallowed the poison of the mind, and he will have no use of discretion, if ever he shall be able to obtain it, but to hate his existence and to seek a grave. But what shall we say of the mother? the torture of her mind, in consequence of such a charge, must have been extreme: she must have stood frozen with horror, and felt as if nature had turned back on itself, that the lights of heaven were extinguished, and reason, and justice, and mercy, were no more; and yet, wonderful to relate, still preserving a dignity that might have drawn reverence from any savages but those of human race. But yet this torture was but an incident only in their drama; it was not wholly for the
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sake of torture; it was a *means*, and not an *end*; for they blackened her thus all over in torturing infamy, only that they might more securely take her life. Nor was that either their ultimate purpose; for, as to what concerned herself only, she might have lived, for what they cared, with dignity; and possessed a mother's joy; but the royal offspring was their object; and him they could not reach but through his mother's soul; and resolutely, and, as it should seem, without remorse, have they struck the blow. It was to this end that they heated their irons in the lowest Hell, that they might brand the forehead of an innocent child, and fix an indelible stain on Royalty itself; and above all, that they might impiously oppose themselves to the laws of natural succession, and by searing up this intermediate link, render it unable to transmit either honour or dignity in any line.

I have *spoken*, and leave it to the reader to *feel*. I do not choose to indulge myself in execration, nor know how far it may lawfully extend; but of the perpetrators of this deed we may venture to say, that they have renounced all dependence on Heaven, and have built in Hell.



A. B.

F I N I S.